8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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FOREWORD.

114 Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarised. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his 114 information and many of his actual sentences from the pages 127 of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

[p. 1]

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127 He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Beschrytinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

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*History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795, iii, 378.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, op. cit, ii, 139-141, 196-197; Godée-Molsbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika, i, 213-4.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672.

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-78.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 215-84.

114 first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by
127 van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

114 The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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I add no more. I would not be thought indiscreet through writing what ought to be concealed or revealing state secrets. At the request of the commander in charge of the Cape I have put in writing much that it is worth knowing regarding the life, habits, and condition of the natives both far and near. I am glad that this has pleased the Council of the India Company, and still more glad am I to devote all my efforts and thoughts and sleepless nights to the public good, though I be trampled on.

Now farewell, reverend sir, and may you enjoy lasting health. Be indulgent to this little composition which has been thrown together from my note-books and odd pages of writing. It is a rough sketch, embodying matters of hearsay as well as information gathered from reliable witnesses, written records, authentic documents, and my personal observation. My informants must bear the responsibility for what they say. Many statements have been filtered through the dull ears of four or five interpreters, and then poured forth in a bold, rash, and barbarous style by men who believed they understood what was told them, though they really understood nothing. They interpret badly, but endeavour by their boldness to make themselves believed, and they often contradict themselves. Inevitably they all miss the true sense, and our understanding is darkened and we get false notions of the real facts. I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province, and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus.

I pray God to preserve you long in health and strength for us, and may your love for me not grow cold, for you know that I would give myself, my fortune, and my life for your wellbeing.

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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115 Leask, I discovered *!Korakje* at Witpoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Shepperd Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

127 In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomatapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Marais and Roos, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had " absented " himself from his post of scribe in the Company's service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Kei or Great Korana, bounded towards the north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana—Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borcherds, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."[1]

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap—the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the wellknown vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native tradition with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

[1] Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River.
173 He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kora*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[2]

115 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the
173 Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[3] He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

[2] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[3] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : " The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony " and he adds what seems his inference : " the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachoqua*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachoqua*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

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[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

[7] B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

[8] For a full discussion, see my study " The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. *passim*

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1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The " trek " of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the " riem " episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the " trek " of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wuras collected from a very old Kora " near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called " *Chei am ⁰aub* " was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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[12] Moodie I. 445.
[13] See genealogical lists further on.
[14] Md. I. p. 318.
[15] See " The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16]

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up."

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

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[16] *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

[17] Op. cit. p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

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121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

●127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

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progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his " dagverhaal " (diary) he mentions the " tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, " daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it. 127 ● 144

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that " what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that " many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language " (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the " Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana " and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them " the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

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high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only.

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman..... The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage.... They fought ..... after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen:*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd " In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

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Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hareena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that " Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen." 127 144

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that " the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that " there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (25) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Korana among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

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127 144 Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmalen) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

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Hitherto I have used the term " Hottentot " without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

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121 144 (11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this " Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term " San " race as an alternative to " Bush " race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as " Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the " Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

144 What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these " Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

127 142 Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

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present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26). 127 142

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch kommen rötlichen variatäten haufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with. 127 144

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour. 127 142

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144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

192 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of "Bush" admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical pepper-corn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had "Bush" characters.

127 192 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original "Hottentot" type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood: "Auch *Kaffer-blut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in beträchtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other "Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

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the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Groutfontein "Bush" skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper). 127

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (35) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figured from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boshof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of "pure" Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Nama-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reinecke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical "Hottentot" yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows *mesaticephaly* bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are "pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index. 127 191

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were *orthocephalic*, one (No. 1) chamaecephalic, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all "pure" Korana, were hypsicephalic individuals (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically "Bush" in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Bushoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly *chamaeprosopic*. 191